

SECRET

JOURNAL

OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL

Thursday - 22 July 1970

25X1 1. [ ] Talked to Mr. B. B. Bray, Associate Staff Director, House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, who told me that the Henderson Subcommittee on Manpower and Civil Service will be unable to meet on S. 782 tomorrow as scheduled. They will be occupied with the conference on the Postal Reform bill.

25X1A 2. (Secret - JMM) Accompanied [ ] who briefed Senator John Stennis and Mr. Ed Braswell, of the Senate Armed Services Committee staff, on Cambodia. The Senator said he would particularly appreciate a copy of the unclassified and simplified large scale map which [ ] 25X1 in the briefing. [ ] is arranging this.

25X1A Mr. Braswell explained privately that the Senator was concerned about questions he might get on the upcoming Meet the Press program where he is scheduled to appear Sunday. He said there was also concern about questions regarding Cambodia that might come up during the Defense Procurement debate beginning tomorrow, 23 July.

Mr. Braswell also spoke of the rather remote possibility of a briefing of the CIA Subcommittee of Senate Armed Services on Thursday, 30 July 1970.

25X1 3. [ ] In response to a request from Mr. Braswell, and after checking with the Director, I called Braswell to offer some suggestions as to how Senator Stennis might handle questions about the Agency's role in Laos should they come up in the floor debate on Defense Procurement.

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Tuesday - 21 July 1970

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25X1 4. [ ] Accompanied the Director and Messrs. Carver,  
25X1A Bruce Clarke [ ] to a briefing of the House Armed Services CIA  
Subcommittee. (See Memorandum for the Record.)

25X1 5. [ ] Hand-carried to Representative Gerald Ford  
a copy of Mr. Houston's classified memorandum of 10 July 1970 on the subject  
of the Douglas impeachment resolutions. I told him that the Director had  
absolutely no objection to his having the memorandum. Mr. Ford will  
return the memorandum to us when it has served his purpose.

25X1 6. [ ] Hand-carried to George Murphy, on the staff of  
the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, copies of NIE 4-70 for the information  
of the Joint Committee and the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee.  
I briefed Murphy on recent information concerning Communist  
China's nuclear weapons program.

Murphy mentioned in passing that several AEC and laboratory  
reactor experts had recently visited the Soviet Union and according to  
Murphy's information would be debriefed by the Agency.

25X1 7. [ ] Met with Bill Woodruff, Counsel, Senate  
Appropriations Committee, and briefed him on recent intelligence  
information. (See Memorandum for the Record for details.)

I talked with Woodruff about a report prepared by Members of  
Congress for Peace Through Law. He said he did not think this document  
had been prepared by any of Senator Fulbright's people, but said that a  
number of knowledgeable staff people have been collecting information  
on this on Capitol Hill for some time. He said he personally had been  
contacted by Samuel H. Mallicoat, Administrative Assistant to Senator  
Mark Hatfield (R., Ore.). Mallicoat is a retired Navy captain.

25X1 8. [ ] Ed Braswell, on the staff of the Senate Armed  
Services Committee, called about 5:30 p.m. and asked if someone from  
the Agency could brief Senator Stennis and himself tomorrow morning at  
10:30 on the situation in Cambodia including types of troops now there.  
After checking with the Director I advised Braswell that [ ]  
would give the briefing.

25X1A

**SECRET**

**SCALE UNKNOWN****Thai Troops Enter Cambodia War**

By **DAVID VAN PRAAGH**  
Special to The Star

**BANGKOK**—Thai troops and planes have already entered the war in Cambodia on an unknown but limited scale.

But a government decision on the size and nature of Thailand's military intervention from the west awaits Cambodian Premier Lon Nol's visit here tomorrow and, more important, a definite U.S. commitment on continuing financing and equipping Thai forces.

Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky of South Vietnam visited Thailand briefly earlier in July, and President Nguyen Van Thieu was to visit Cambodia before Lon Nol leaves on a trip that may also include Indonesia.

Some quarters here entertain the possibility that Thai troops will come from the east, too—at least part of the Black Panther division now stationed in South Vietnam.

That way, it is pointed out, unbroken U.S. support and allowances to the Thais serving in Vietnam—amounting to more than \$200 million—might be legitimized.

**Joint Operations**

Thai police are conducting joint operations inside Cambodia with Cambodian troops, particularly in the area of the once-disputed Preah Vihear border temple. The first Thai casualties were reported on Friday—one killed, three missing and seven wounded—in two clashes in Cambodian jungle.

Thai planes are reliably be-

lieved to have begun strikes at Communist forces in the Angkor Wat area, as well as reconnaissance over western Cambodia, following an initial attack by Thai or U.S. planes—probably Thai propeller-driven T28s—near the Preah Vihear temple from a base in Thailand.

At least 24 Thai technicians are setting up military ground-to-air military communications in Phnom Penh. A Thai medical team is on the way to Cambodia.

Thai gunboats are reported preparing for river patrols in Cambodia, while assistance is provided for Cambodian T28s, and uniforms for Cambodian troops. At least 2,000 of these troops have started training in Thailand, and at least 3,000 Thais of Cambodian origin are already in training.

There are serious doubts and even fears among informed Thai and Western observers here about the ability of Thai forces to take on regular Communist troops or even experienced guerrilla units. Despite their names, the Black Panthers, and the Queen's Cobras in Vietnam before them, did not appear either fierce or poisonous to the enemy, although they have had few chances.

**Austerity Measures**

That is one reason for the debate in Thailand on whether it is wiser to fight first away from home or in defense of home soil. While Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn's

cabinet appears to favor the first course, there is official and unofficial resentment and anger among Thais who charge that the United States permitted a situation to develop in Cambodia that threatens Thailand.

This partly accounts for a tendency to make Washington the whipping boy for prospective economic-austerity measures starting with a tax-increase bill that squeaked past parliament's lower house by one vote.

"There will be more austerity," said Economic Develop-

ment Minister Pote Sarasin, a former prime minister. "But how can we plan ahead when we don't know where we're going to get the arms?"

Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman expectedly has been even more frank about the United States, which has been scaling down its aid here after having provided more than \$2 billion in military and economic aid to Thailand while using six air bases in the country.

Meanwhile, the private dialogue continues between Washington and Bangkok on support for Thai intervention in Cambodia.

SECRET  
JOURNAL

OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL

Thursday - 16 July 1970

25X1 1. [ ] Attempted to arrange a meeting with Representative Richard H. Poff (R., Va.) to discuss our response to the Judiciary Committee on the Douglas impeachment resolutions. Poff's schedule was completely filled and he suggested that I see him tomorrow.

25X1 2. [ ] In response to his request I left with Ed Braswell, Chief of Staff, Senate Armed Services Committee, data on Soviet operational ICBM launchers prepared by Bruce Clarke. Braswell said this would serve his purposes nicely.

25X1 3. [ ] Oneta Stockstill, House Armed Services Committee staff, called to say that Chairman Rivers would like the Director to brief the CIA Subcommittee on 21 July 1970 at 10:00 a.m., in room 2212 Rayburn House Office Building.

Russ Blandford, Chief Counsel, indicated that at the briefing the Chairman would like the Director to cover Cambodia, the Middle East and the Soviet threat.

25X1 4. [ ] Accompanied [ ] to a briefing of Senator Henry Jackson, Richard Perle and Dorothy Fosdick, of the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations staff, on the Middle East. The briefing lasted slightly more than an hour and Senator Jackson remained throughout. Jackson is supporting a provision in the Armed Services procurement bill authorizing the transfer of aircraft to Israel and is anxious to be fully informed on the situation.

25X1A

25X1 5. [ ] June Nigh, of the House Foreign Affairs Committee staff, called to say that the 21 July briefing of the Zablocki Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments, would have to be cancelled, since Zablocki will be involved in a House-Senate conference meeting at that time. She said they would call later to re-schedule the briefing. Mr. Bruce Clarke, who was to conduct the briefing, has been advised.

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25X1 4. [ ] Met with Chairman Richard Ichord, House Internal Security Committee, and Chief Counsel Donald Sanders and Counsel Alfred Nittle, in response to Ichord's inquiry about press stories reportedly quoting CIA reports.

I explained that these stories, alleging that Cambodian Prime Minister Lon Nol had been involved in selling rice to the Communists and an attempted deal with Hanoi, could not be attributed to any particular CIA reports. However, I said that we had from time to time reported on the Communists obtaining rice and other supplies with the complicity of Cambodian officials presumably with Lon Nol's knowledge. I also summarized reports we had put out about Lon Nol's efforts to negotiate the withdrawal of Communist forces, but explained that these did not appear to represent a capitulation to the Communists.

Ichord was concerned about how to run down these "security leaks" but I emphasized this was a virtually impossible task because press stories could not be attributed to any particular Agency reports, and that reports and rumors on these matters had been widely disseminated, not only by CIA but by other Government agencies, and indeed were topics of common gossip in Southeast Asia. Ichord seemed satisfied with my explanation.

In view of his mention of security, I took advantage of the occasion to mention our problems with the Ervin bill (S. 782). Ichord was thoroughly sympathetic and said he would use what influence he had with the Henderson Subcommittee which has jurisdiction over the bill. I left with him a paper setting forth our specific problems in connection with this legislation.

Ichord mentioned his concern about inadequacy of our espionage laws and said he would welcome any Agency suggestions for tightening them up, or any other suggestions the Agency might have in the field of national security which would fall within his Committee's jurisdiction.

25X1 5. [ ] Delivered to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the transcript of the Director's testimony of 7 July 1970. The transcript will be returned to the Agency this evening for safe-keeping.

Later in the day, Judy Morrison, of the Committee staff, called to say they will need the transcript again tomorrow morning. NPIC couriers were alerted and will deliver the transcript first thing in the morning.

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CONFIDENTIAL

JOURNAL

OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL

Wednesday - 8 July 1970

- 25X1 1. [ ] Returned the call of Mrs. Fleische-  
25X1A mann, in the office of Representative Jack Brooks (D., Texas), concerning  
25X1 a new Agency employee, [ ] Mrs. Fleischemann seemed  
to be fully satisfied with the explanation that we had not proselyted  
[ ] from the Congressman's office, but in fact had recruited her  
while she was still in school and that the first we knew of her employment  
with the Representative was in May when we were establishing her entrance-  
on-duty date. I also told her that it was not our policy to process applicants  
from the Hill until after they had advised their principal of interest in  
Agency employment. (See Memorandum for the Record.)
- 25X1 2. [ ] Judy Hoffman, in the office of Senator Gaylord  
Nelson (D., Wis.), called explaining that she had been trying to reach Air  
America on the phone number listed in the telephone directory without  
success, even with the aid of an operator. I suggested that she try again in  
25X1A an hour or so. [ ] office has been advised.
- 25X1 3. [ ] Met with Miss Gottlieb, in the office of  
Senator Alan Cranston (D., Calif.), concerning constituent inquiries  
prompted by the Fletcher Prouty article from "The Washington Monthly"  
which was carried in the Los Angeles Times. She felt our suggested  
25X1 replies to [ ] would handle the matter nicely.
- 25X1 4. [ ] Met with Carol Mitchell, in the office of  
Senator Robert P. Griffin (R., Mich.), concerning a constituent letter  
prompted by the Stephanie Mills article on defoliation of Cambodia and  
CIA's involvement. She thanked us for our suggested reply which related  
only to the CIA aspects.

CONFIDENTIAL

# Senate Acts To Curb Nixon on Power to Wage War

WASHINGTON — The Senate has taken what may prove to be a historic step in redressing the balance of warmaking powers between the Presidency and the Congress, in an era of undeclared wars.

After 34 days of often confusing constitutional debate, the Senate last week adopted by a vote of 58-37 the Cooper-Church amendment that would restrict the President's authority to use funds for future military operations in Cambodia. Using the power of the purse—strings—the ultimate power of Congress—the amendment specified that after July 1 the President, in the absence of Congressional approval, could not retain American troops in Cambodia, provide military advisers or hire mercenaries for the Cambodian Government, or supply air support for Cambodian forces.

## Significant Step

Never before during the course of a shooting war had either branch of Congress so attempted to place restrictions on the warmaking powers of the President as Commander in Chief. The vote marked a significant step in Congressional reassertion of the powers that in the past three decades, largely through Congressional acquiescence, have gravitated to the executive branch.

In all probability, the Cooper-Church amendment will never become law. It still must be approved by the House, and from the start the Administration has relied on the more hawkish House to save it from the leash of a preponderantly dovish Senate. Nevertheless, the Senate's action will have lasting political force even if not followed in the House, thus bringing about some readjustment in the warmaking powers on a pragmatic basis.

Passage of the amendment represented a serious rebuff to President Nixon and

ers. The only political solace for the Administration was that it was able to delay the Senate vote until the day that President Nixon announced the withdrawal of all American forces from Cambodia, thus submerging the Senate action in a Presidential report on the success of the Cambodian operation.

The day is now gone when the President can go to war on the basis of some ambiguous Congressional resolution that is used to justify decisions made or not yet made by the Commander in Chief. War by ambivalent resolutions went out the Congressional window with the bitter experience over the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which was repealed by the Senate 10 days ago during the constitutional debate.

Also gone is the day when the President can fight an undeclared war on the basis of consultations with a few mandarins in Congress. In fact, it was a reaction against the past practice of war by consultation that led to the Cooper-Church amendment.

The President may have told a privileged few in Congress that the Central Intelligence Agency was financing a mercenary army in Laos, that the Air Force was bombing in northern Laos in support of the Royal Laotian Government, that munificent allowances were being paid to Thai, South Korean and Philippine troops sent to South Vietnam. But these actions came as a surprise to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which is why the committee decided to impose prohibitions when it came to Cambodia. If the prohibitions are to be lifted, it will be only by consulting Congress as a whole and openly.

## Imprecise Definitions

In redefining the division of warmaking powers, the Cooper-Church amendment is admittedly imprecise. In its operative sections, it lays down specific prohibitions on the President; but then in its statement of principles, it reaffirms the constitutional powers of the Commander in Chief, including his power to take steps to protect the lives of American troops "wherever deployed." To that extent, the amendment enshrines a principle that is increasingly being invoked by the executive branch to justify foreign military action.

It was this principle that President Nixon cited in justifying his Cambodian intervention and upon which he now relying to justify a continued American military presence in

Vietnam. If the authority is that broad, then the question arises whether the President could not invoke that power to circumvent the prohibitions in the Cooper-Church amendment on the grounds he was only acting to protect the lives of American troops in Cambodia.

Relying on his powers as Commander in Chief, the President may choose to ignore the restrictions in the Cooper-Church amendment. In his conversation with three television commentators Wednesday night, Mr. Nixon refused to say categorically that he would not reintroduce American troops to Cambodia but emphasized "We do not plan on it." But if he did send troops back to Cambodia, he would do so at considerable political risk.

The Cooper - Church amendment is part of an evolutionary process in which the Senate has been engaged for over a year. Preceding it last year was the National Commitments Resolution calling upon the President not to engage in foreign hostilities without the affirmative approval of Congress. Then last December, the Senate incorporated an amendment in the Defense Appropriations Bill specifying that no funds were to be used by the President to introduce ground troops into Laos or Thailand. That amendment was accepted by the Administration with no complaints that it was tying the hands of the Commander in Chief. It was only when Senators John Sherman Cooper, Republican of Kentucky, and Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, presented their amendment that such complaints were voiced by the executive branch.

From the standpoint of the Cooper - Church forces, their amendment does not tie the hands of the President, but rather, as Senator Church put it at one point in the debate, "helps to untie the knots by which Congress has shackled its own powers."

In essence, the Senate has told the President that his powers as Commander in Chief are not unlimited, to be defined as he sees fit. The next step in this evolutionary process will be an attempt by the Foreign Relations Committee to define by law how the President may use his authority as Commander in Chief in the absence of a declaration of war by Congress.

One approach suggested by Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York and being considered by the committee, is to recognize that the President as Commander in Chief may take cer-

tain emergency actions; but then specifying that such military actions cannot be continued longer than 30 days without obtaining Congressional approval.

—JOHN W. FINNEY

# War Curb Debate: Foibles

By Philip D. Carter

Washington Post Staff Writer

Birch Bayh was careless, Stuart Symington was confused, Allen Ellender was persuadable, Russell Long was inexplicable, and Walter Mondale was late.

And on the floor of the Senate, Democratic managers of the Cooper-Church

## News Analysis

amendment to limit further U.S. involvement in Cambodia were rapidly going out of their minds.

Not until yesterday, with the measure safely passed (and headed to an uncertain future in a conference with the House), were backers of the amendment able to relax and dwell almost fondly on the foibles and follies of their fellow senators.

"It was all so human," one Democratic strategist sighed.

On Tuesday there were few such philosophers to be found. At stake in four hectic votes was a last-minute threat to the Cooper-Church measure—an amendment offered by Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R-Mich.), at the request of the White House. The Griffin amendment, its opponents feared, would give President Nixon carte blanche to pay Asian "mercenaries" from Thailand,



SEN. ALLEN J. ELLENDER  
... switches sides

South Vietnam and other Asian countries to fight in Cambodia without the congressional approval the original measure demanded.

For seven weeks, the Cooper-Church forces had combatted a series of similar attempts to water down their historic measure and make it palatable to the White House. They hadn't won every fight, but they felt confident that they had the votes to defeat Griffin's proposal by a slim margin.

When the proposal came to a vote, Birch Bayh cast the first Democratic vote against it. Then, confident



SEN. STUART SYMINGTON  
... confused by proposal

that the measure would be defeated, the Indianian calmly walked out of the chamber.

### Mondale Absent

Walter Mondale (D-Minn.), was, despite frantic efforts to reach him, nowhere to be found.

And Stuart Symington (D-Mo.), who had chaired the hearings which uncovered the fact that third-country Asian forces were secretly paid to serve in Vietnam, voted to endorse the practice his subcommittee had so roundly denounced.



SEN. RUSSELL LONG  
... reverses field

"I almost freaked out," a Cooper-Church floor strategist recalled yesterday.

J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), the august chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, proved fast on his feet. But by the time he reached Symington and learned that the Missourian was "confused" by Griffin's proposal, the measure had passed, 47 to 46.

The floor seemed to explode. Majority leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) quickly moved for a reconsideration of the vote, but an immediate Republican motion to



# and Follies Amid Tension

## The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 2, 1970

... A17

table Mansfield's motion took precedence, and the Senate prepared to vote again over whether it would vote to vote again.

In all the confusion, Mondale sheepishly walked in, explaining that the first vote had come sooner than he had expected.

### Symington's Explanation

Symington explained to Fulbright, and to Frank church (D-Idaho), that he had not understood that the Cooper-church proposal would simply require the President to win congressional authorization before hiring foreign troops. he was not against mercenaries, Symington said in effect, but he did think Congress should be consulted.

Assured that this was exactly what the Cooper-Church measure required, Symington voted against Griffin's forces on the second vote. Allen Ellender (D-La.), who had voted for Griffin's measure, withheld his vote while he consulted with Fulbright. So with Mondale's belated appearance, the vote on the

second roll-call was exactly reversed to 46-47 against the motion to table.

Now Mansfield's motion to reconsider the first vote was before the Senate, and Vice President Agnew entered the chamber and took the gavel, in case he had to vote to break a tie.

"Looking like the angel of mercy," an exhausted strategist later recalled, Sen. Bayh miraculously reappeared. But, unaware what the voting was all about, he voted "no" to Mansfield's motion and later had to ask the Senate clerk to change his vote.

### Ellender Switches

The tide turned as Ellender—like Symington—switched sides, making the third vote 49 to 46 in favor of the Cooper-Church team.

But the final vote, which tested the Griffin amendment itself for the second time, produced the strangest anomaly of all.

On the first vote, Russell Long (D-La.), had been safely paired with an absent Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.), who had announced his op-

position to Griffin's measure. On the subsequent three votes, however, Griffin-backer Robert C. Byrd (D-W. Va.) assumed Long's half of the pair, releasing the de-neutralized Louisianan to vote "aye" to the Griffin amendment.

Predictably, Long first voted to table, and then he voted against reconsideration of the measure. But on the final test of the Griffin amendment, he inexplicably reversed his field.

With his vote, plus Ellender's, Mondale's and Bayh's, Griffin's amendment failed, 45 to 50. Democratic strategists had originally expected the count to be 46 to 49.

But "all it would have taken," a floor manager later recalled, "was a couple more shuffles and we would have lost it."

### Vote for Passage

After passage of one additional minor change, the Cooper-Church amendment passed the Senate by a vote of 58 to 37, with a flock of former opponents voting "aye."

The measure now heads into a Senate-House conference tied to a Foreign Military Sales Act amendment, with whose fortunes the Cooper-Church amendment is closely linked.

The sales measure includes authorization for military shipments to U.S. allies, including Israel, and the White House is eager for rapid final congressional approval of that. This will give Fulbright and his dovish six-man Senate bargaining team a strong position from which to haggle with their hawkish counterparts in the House.

Even if approved in conference, the Cooper-Church amendment will face a possible presidential veto. "But if the White House wants arms for Israel," a Cooper-Church supporter said yesterday, "they may have to swallow their pride and accept at least part of the language in Cooper-Church."

In the light of Tuesday's voting, however, no predictions seemed entirely assured.

WASHINGTON POST

DATE

# Final Tally In Senate Is 58-37

By Philip D. Carter  
Washington Post Staff Writer

In the first direct congressional challenge to presidential war-waging authority since the Indochina conflict began, the Senate yesterday endorsed the Cooper-Church amendment limiting further U.S. involvement in Cambodia.

The amendment, which passed by the surprisingly large margin of 58-37, stipulates that President Nixon may neither send U.S. troops back into Cambodia nor aid the Lon Nol regime there without congressional approval.

The Senate's vote came just hours after the President announced that all U.S. troops have withdrawn on schedule.

And another factor subtracted from the measure's otherwise dramatic impact: Unless passed by the House, which is considered unlikely, the amendment has no binding effect.

Nevertheless, the vote, which climaxed seven weeks of extraordinary debate over the constitutional war powers of the President, was evidence of the significant change in the Senate's attitude since 1964, and of the national anxiety and division over the Asian conflict.

And in the eyes of the measure's supporters, its passage offered an even clearer signal that any further widening of the war will come at great political risk to the President.

In San Clemente, Calif., there was no comment from the White House. President Nixon probably will say something about the Senate action in his television interview tonight.

Some backers of the administration, who had warned that the amendment threatened to hamstring the President's efforts to end the war, argued after passage that the Cooper-Church measure would have no significant effect on White

## DEBATE, From A1

Among them was Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.), who after fighting to soften the amendment said he had finally decided to vote for it on grounds that it "imposes no restraint on the President."

"The President could go back into Cambodia tonight on the same basis," Dole told reporters. "I don't think he intends to, but we have to be realistic."

But Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), who co-sponsored the amendment with Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.), declared that a historic precedent had been set.

"This is the first time in history," he proclaimed, "that the Senate has used its powers of the pursestrings to impose limitations on a war in progress. It's a great day for the Senate and for constitutional government in America."

On a more direct political level, a last-minute attempt to water down the amendment resulted in a dramatic series of reversals for the Nixon administration.

Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R-Mich.) introduced an amendment which opponents said would permit the President to

pay Asian "mercenaries" from Thailand and South Vietnam to fight for the United States in Cambodia, without any authorization in Congress.

## Mansfield Motion

When first brought to a vote, Griffin's amendment passed, 47 to 46. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) immediately made a motion to reconsider the vote. He was promptly countered by a Republican motion to table his motion.

On that vote, the Griffin forces lost, 47-46, with Sen. Stuart Symington, (D-Mo.) switching. That brought up the Mansfield motion to reconsider.

Meanwhile, Vice President Agnew, alerted that his vote might be needed to break a tie, entered the chamber and took the gavel as presiding officer.

But with the late arrival of two Democrats, Birch Bayh and Walter E. Mondale (Minn.), the motion to reconsider passed, 49-46.

The fourth and final vote on the Griffin measure found Sen. Russell B. Long (D-La.), who had paired his first pro-Griffin vote with an anti-Griffin vote held by absent Sen. Gaylord Nelson, (D-Wis.), switching sides. Symington, who later said he had misunderstood Griffin's measure, also voted against changing the Cooper-Church proposal. That made the final vote 50-45.

The administration fared better on an amendment offered by Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), permitting continued bombing support for allies in Cambodia as long as it isn't "direct" support.

Apparently swayed by Jackson's argument that this change would leave the President free to interdict Communist supply lines in Cambodia and protect American forces in South Vietnam, the Senate approved his amendment 69-27.

That vote marked the first split in the positions of Sens. Church and Cooper. Church voted for the Jackson amendment, Cooper against.

Passage of that amendment was followed by a brief summary debate between advocates and opponents of the Cooper-Church amendment.

Speaking for the hard-line hawks, Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) declared that Congress is "following a will o' the wisp" in trying to limit the power of the President as commander in chief. But Sen. Robert C. Byrd, (D-W. Va.), who had fought throughout to win recognition of the President's war powers, said that he now was satisfied by the wording of the final measure.

The Senate had made it clear, he said, that the President can protect the lives of U.S. troops and "exercise that power in an emergency situation" without having to consult Congress.

Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss.), remained intransigent. Although the measure was "greatly watered down," he said, it offered "a message to our enemies" that "the President is restricted."

The Armed Services Committee chairman said, "I know that message will go home, and imperil the successful withdrawal of our forces."

close to 300 speeches, the full

Cooper-Church measure was put to the test, while tourists, Senate staff members and relatives of senators looked on from the crowded galleries.

There was no applause when the measure passed.

## Military Sales Bill

The Cooper-Church amendment was appended to an amendment of the Foreign Military Sales Act authorizing financial credits totaling \$300 million dollars a year for nations wishing to purchase U.S. military equipment.

Brought to a vote after passage of the Cooper-Church amendment, this measure passed easily, 75-20, but not in time to cover sales authorized during fiscal year 1970, which expired yesterday. Special provision for releasing the backlogged arms was made, however, in a recently passed supplemental appropriations bill.

The sales measure passed yesterday also imposes tight new restrictions on the disposal of surplus weapons abroad.

Spokesmen for the administration, led by Vice President Agnew, publicly complained that the extended debate over Cooper-Church was delaying arms shipments to American allies.

But it became clear early in the seven-week debate that the administration itself was seeking to postpone a vote on the Cooper-Church measure at least until yesterday, the President's self-imposed June 30 deadline for withdrawing U.S. troops from Cambodia. It was also clear that the White House hoped to emasculate

the amendment and if possible defeat it.

In the process, the normal "unity and comity" of the Senate Club was sometimes

fractured, and relations with the White House were heavily strained. Almost as a tired afterthought—and on a Republican's motion at that—the Senate voted to repeal the 1965 Tonkin Gulf resolution at proving White House execution of the Vietnam war.

But the final point, Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) said after yesterday's vote, was the Senate's new-found sense of direction is now a "political fact of life."

## Text of the Amendment

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 30—Following is the text, as amended, of the amendment to the foreign military sales bill offered by Senators Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, and John Sherman Cooper, Republican of Kentucky, adopted today by the Senate:

Limitations on United States involvement in Cambodia.

In concert with the declared objectives of the President of the United States to avoid the involvement of the United States in Cambodia after July 1, 1970, and to expedite the withdrawal of American forces from Cambodia, it is hereby provided that unless specifically authorized by law hereafter enacted, no funds authorized or appropriated pursuant to this act or any other law may be expended after July 1, 1970, for the purposes of—

(1) Retaining United States forces in Cambodia;

(2) Paying the compensation or allowances of, or otherwise supporting, directly or indirectly, any United States personnel in Cambodia who furnish military instruction to Cambodian forces or engage in any combat activity in support of Cambodian forces;

(3) Entering into or carry-

ing out any contract or agreement to provide military instruction in Cambodia, or to provide persons to engage in any combat activity in support of Cambodian forces; or

(4) Conducting any combat activity in the air above Cambodia in direct support of Cambodian forces.

Nothing contained in this section shall be deemed to impugn the constitutional power of the President as Commander in Chief, including the exercise of that constitutional power which may be necessary to protect the lives of United States armed forces wherever deployed. Nothing contained in this section shall be deemed to impugn the constitutional powers of Congress including the power to declare war and to make rules for the Government and regulation of the armed forces of the United States.

## The Senate Roll-Call On Cambodia Curb

WASHINGTON, June 30 (AP)—Following is the roll-call vote by which the Senate today adopted the Cooper-Church amendment to restrict future United States military operations in Cambodia:

FOR THE AMENDMENT—58  
Democrats—42

Anderson (N.M.)	Magnuson (Wash.)
Baugh (Ind.)	Mansfield (Mont.)
Bible (Nev.)	McCarthy (Minn.)
Burdick (N.D.)	McGovern (S.D.)
Byrd (W. Va.)	McIntyre (N.H.)
Byrd (W. Va.)	Malcolm (Mont.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Church (Idaho)	Montoya (N.M.)
Cranston (Calif.)	Moss (Utah)
Eagleton (Mo.)	Muskie (Me.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Pastore (R.I.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Pell (R.I.)
Gravel (Alaska)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Harris (Okla.)	Randolph (W. Va.)
Hart (Mich.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Spong (Va.)
Hollings (S.C.)	Symington (Mo.)
Hughes (Iowa)	Tydings (Md.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Williams (N.J.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Jordan (N.C.)	Young (Ohio)
Kennedy (Mass.)	

Republicans—16

Aiken (Vt.)	Mathias (Md.)
Brooke (Mass.)	Packwood (Ore.)
Cass (N.J.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Percy (Ill.)
Dole (Kan.)	Saxbe (Ohio)
Goodell (N.Y.)	Schweiker (Pa.)
Haffield (Ore.)	Smith (Ill.)
Javits (N.Y.)	Stevens (Alaska)

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT—37  
Democrats—11

Allen (Ala.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Byrd (Va.)	McGee (Wyo.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Ellender (La.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Holland (Fla.)	

Republicans—26

Allott (Colo.)	Gurney (Fla.)
Baker (Tenn.)	Hansen (Wyo.)
Bellmon (Okla.)	Hruska (Neb.)
Bennett (Utah)	Jordan (Idaho)
Boggs (Del.)	Miller (Iowa)
Cook (Ky.)	Murphy (Calif.)
Colton (N.H.)	Prothy (Vt.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Scott (Pa.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Smith (Me.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Tower (Tex.)
Goldwater (Ariz.)	Williams (Del.)
Griffin (Mich.)	Young (N.D.)

Not voting but announced as paired. (pairs denote the opposing positions of senators when one or both are absent): Nelson, D., Wis., for; Long, D., La., against.

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## *Nixon's Statement On Indochina Policy*

1. There will be no U.S. ground personnel in Cambodia except for the regular staff of our Embassy in Phnom Penh.

2. There will be no U.S. advisers with Cambodian units.

3. We will conduct—with the approval of the Cambodian government—air interdiction missions against the enemy efforts to move supplies and personnel through Cambodia toward South Vietnam and to re-establish base areas relevant to the war in Vietnam. We do this to protect our forces in South Vietnam.

4. We will turn over material captured in the base areas in Cambodia to the Cambodian government to help it defend its neutrality and independence.

5. We will provide military assistance to the Cambodian government in the form of small arms and relatively unsophisticated equipment in types and quantities suitable for their army. To date we have supplied about \$5 million of these items principally in the form of small arms, mortars, trucks, aircraft parts, communications equipment and medical supplies.

6. We will encourage other countries of the region to give diplomatic support to the independence and neutrality of Cambodia. We welcome the efforts of the Djakarta group of countries to mobilize world opinion and encourage Asian cooperation to this end.

7. We will encourage and support the efforts of third countries who wish to furnish Cambodia with troops or material. We applaud the efforts of Asian nations to help Cambodia preserve its neutrality and independence.